

action as inappropriate. This led to increased tolerance and assistance by federal authorities for later marches. The process of negotiation also sometimes forced protesters to compromise their actions and demands. Organizers of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom adopted a nonconfrontational style and made very vague demands in order to gain the support of the Kennedy administration. Barber's attention to the varied actors involved in negotiating the use of the capital's spaces is noteworthy. However, the biggest contribution of the book is its demonstration of how the strategic deployment of identities and claims to citizenship status were critical in determining the evolution of the march on Washington.

Throughout the book, Barber provides fascinating accounts of how protesters strategically used the marches to display their identities and make claims to citizenship. During the woman suffrage parade of 1913, for example, the women consciously tried to hold a beautiful and dignified march to demonstrate that women would bring these qualities to public life if granted the full rights of citizenship. Similarly, in 1941, organizers strategically invited only African-Americans to participate in the proposed Negro March on Washington. They intended to show, by staging a well-organized, dignified, and highly attended march, that blacks were deserving of all of the rights of citizenship. While Barber demonstrates that most groups of marchers were challenging the boundaries of full citizenship, she also recognizes and describes how the marchers themselves often maintained boundaries of social exclusion. For example, not a single woman was invited to speak at the 1963 March for Jobs and Freedom.

This book is enjoyable to read because of its rich historical detail and attention to the nuances of negotiation and identity deployment. Its only weakness is that it provides little theory regarding the factors that influence the changes that it documents. As a sociologist, I would have liked to see Barber spend a little more time theorizing about the conditions that led to particular authority or protester actions. However, theory development was not a goal of the book and its absence does not detract from the book's appeal. This is a book that will be useful to historians, sociologists, and political scientists interested in social movements and the development of traditions of political engagement and the creation of spaces for national claims making.

*Search for a Demon: The Media Construction of the Militia Movement.*  
By Steven M. Chermak. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2002. Pp.  
xii+272. \$50.00 (cloth); \$20.00 (paper).

Shujiro Yazawa  
*Hitotsubashi University*

After September 11 and the war against Iraq, the role of the media in the contemporary world is drawing growing attention. The objective of

this book is to examine the contributions of the news and popular entertainment media in creating the public understanding of militias, Ruby Ridge, Waco, the Oklahoma City bombing, and the arrest, trial, and execution of Timothy McVeigh. This book tries to analyze the relationship between the media and social process in the United States since the 1990s. In this respect, this book is timely.

The basic theory of the book is to pay special attention to the media's function in defining community boundaries and social control. Based on this theory, the author explains the development of the relationship between the media and the militia as a competition among claim makers in the social control (information) market. As the social control market was not open to the militia in the early 1990s, the militia was neglected by the media despite its energetic activities. The media got a notorious face when McVeigh was apprehended for the Oklahoma City bombing. At that point, the social control market became open to the militia and the media started to cover the movement extensively. But after the execution of McVeigh, the social control market was again closed to the militia, and the media did not cover it except at local levels.

Next, the author clarifies the mechanism by which the media constructed militias. The media emphasized celebrated cases and constructed militias as extremists, drawing this portrait from claim makers who gave information and analysis. Claim makers were, in this case, the representatives of social control, experts on specific issues, individuals, celebrity figures among dissenters, examples of local militias, and dissenters against the dominant images of militias. The first two categories of claim makers were quite influential. Militias were shown as being outside the moral community, constructed as something that should produce fear and disgust among the public. In order to understand how militias were presented in the news media, Chermak analyzes newspaper articles from 1994 to 1998 using frame analysis. He reaches the conclusion that militias were framed as outsiders and terrorists who threatened mainstream society. Once this frame was created, it was confirmed by subsequent events. The author investigates popular culture outlets (movies, TV shows, cartoons, etc.) and argues that they "helped to solidify this view of militias"—that is, militias as a legitimate threat or monster worth fearing—"by regurgitating the most extreme of the distorted images presented in the news" (p. 210).

To construct his own case, the author examines the militia's basic philosophy by using qualitative methods. According to his findings, militias see themselves as defending constitutional rights against what they see as undue governmental control and interference. They also fear that the United Nations might establish a "new global order," control the United States, and destroy her identity.

In the concluding chapter, Chermak finds "the parallels between the media treatment of militias in the wake of Oklahoma City bombing and the coverage of the Al Qaeda terrorist network after September 11, 2001, attacks" (back cover). But he rightly concludes that "in order to fully

understand the impact of the terrorist attack on public culture, one has to closely examine the role of the media" (p. 212), something he plans to do as his next big project.

This reviewer believes that this study constitutes a new step in the theories and empirical research on the media construction of reality. But it is necessary for Chermak to improve not only theory and concepts but also to further improve empirical research in order to be more successful in his new project. Let me point out the most important problem. The author studies the plural realities of rank-and-file militia movements by using qualitative methods. He also examines the media's extreme image of militias by using frame analysis. But unfortunately it seems to me that he could not go beyond this dichotomous and one-way understanding. He always understands that the dominant power and interests could construct the extreme image of reality over plural realities. He is unable to find a different relationship between the two. He needs to improve this framework; otherwise he cannot go anywhere from here. This is why he cannot give us his idea of how to improve the established criminal justice system. In addition, he also has to improve main concepts like the social problem market and its mechanism, as these concepts are still vague.

Social scientists, especially American social scientists, have to find answers to the following questions: Why is the militia's basic philosophy so contradictory? Why do some who wish to defend constitutional rights become extremists and outsiders? Why does the government conduct illegal operations against outsiders to keep social order? This book gives us a good idea of where to start in order to solve these puzzles, but it does not go deep enough.

*Beyond State Crisis? Postcolonial Africa and Post-Soviet Eurasia in Comparative Perspective.* Edited by Mark R. Beissinger and Crawford Young. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2002. Pp. xv+514. \$60.00 (cloth); \$24.95 (paper).

Daniel Chirot  
*University of Washington*

State failures are among the most significant political phenomena in the postcolonial world, including the collapsed Soviet empire. Africa and the former Soviet Union contain the most cases, though there are other examples: Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, and Haiti. One day soon there may be others in parts of Latin America (Colombia?), the Middle East (Iraq?), South Asia (Pakistan?), and Southeast Asia (Indonesia?).

*Beyond State Crisis* looks at many African and post-Soviet cases to note their similarities. As state power and legitimacy wane, corruption rises, gangster warlordism grows, ethnoregional wars erupt, economies collapse, outside forces intervene militarily, and tens of thousands, some-